782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

War Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
● [184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other poople would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

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done in an excited pagan style, although on the occasion of a Christian festival. We saw clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Roma]. The titles are interesting: the territorial priest of Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

In East Flores especially the bow is still used. We met a large band on Christmas not far from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

The style of clothing changes from place to place, though here again there is a general

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
●184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

[i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

Wae

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that [184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

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198 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614 Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Waitolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
●184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
●184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru
[181] and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[152] ness of the folk stands out, together with their tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
about given up the bride price here, but that the
●184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries to-
day and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
● 184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the [656] big men in the old days. Today, they can't use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 554 565 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

● [184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and